2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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613 section where are recorded some notes about the JoAlego clan of Alego
614 tribe, the JoOwila clan of Uyoma tribe, the KaNyikal clan of Seme tribe, and the KaRacuonyo clan of Karacuonyo tribe. It must be borne in mind in reference to these examples, as in regard to the rules of exogamy noted earlier, that these clans are associated with tribal territories and that there are many small lineages, many of them of Bantu origin, which have not the same spread in genealogical or physical space and have not the same depth in lineage structure ; also, that all the main clans ultimately trace their descent from the same mythological names of Podho and Ramogi so that it would be possible to place them all on a single chart of descent. Since the smaller stranger lineages have points of graft on the trees of the dominant clans it might be possible to place the whole Luo people on a single chart. The clans, as I have described them, are, however, the largest descent groups which have eponymous ancestors, who are considered by the Luo to be the points at which an exact record of ascent passes into a hazy plane of tradition where a single line of mythological ancestors is finally lost in the beginnings of the world. They are the points at which genealogical structure begins.

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173 In the Alego tribe the dominant clans are the JoAlego with its maximal
613 lineages, the JoSega and the KaDenge. There are a number of other clans and large lineages living in the tribal territory, apart from small
614 stranger groups and individuals. The two most powerful of these stranger clans are the Karuoth and Kakan (JokAnyango). Other clans or lineages of some importance are the KaLuo, JoMar, JoAgoro, JokOgelo, KaNyinek, KaRapol (JoKato), JoUmala, KaLikada, and JoUyawa. The presence of these clans and lineages in Alego and their intra-tribal relations with the JoAlego are accounted for in a number of traditions or myths. These myths relate that when Alego entered the country from the west (Yimbo or Kadimo) he found there a people called Kombekombe and they and Alego's people live together in peace. Then the Kombekombe people began to disperse and were lost and the whole of the land came into possession of Alego and his sons. Then came other clans after Alego into the country but Alego fought them and compelled them to settle elsewhere. Then the elder sons of Mulijuok crossed the gulf and settled in what is now called South Kavirondo and Mulijuok was left with his younger children, Seje, Nyidenge, and three daughters, Nyiwat, Anyango, and Ajonga.

Other clans now entered the country with the permission of the Alego folk (the story is told by them). Came Ragak and married Nyiwat and Anyango and begat the clan of the Kakan, who count as *orche*, in-laws, to the JoAlego. Then came Ager (from Kadhola or Budama) and asked Mulijuok for permission to settle on the land and Mulijuok agreed that he and his people might live on hill Akara. When Mulijuok died Ager plotted to kill his sons Seje and Nyidenge to wrest the soil from them. Seje heard of this plot and summoned Nyinek, Uyawa, Agoro, Ragak, and others (the lineages are personified in the story) to make war against

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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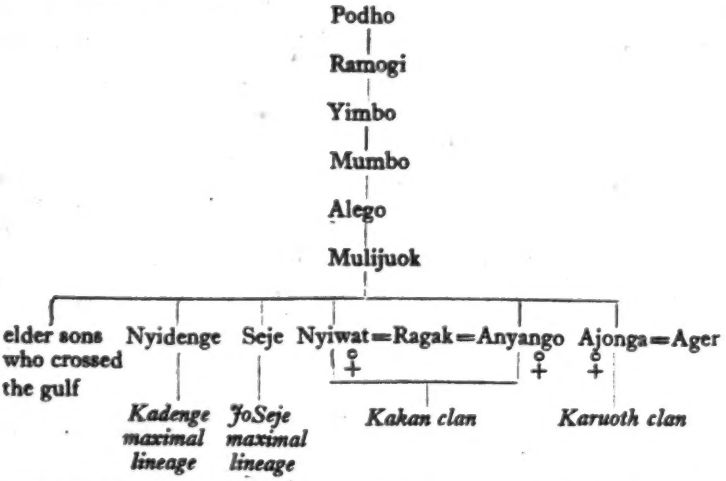
the people of Ager, whom they defeated. Ager later asked for the hand of Ajonga by whom he begat the Karuoth clan, who also stand to the Alego folk as relatives-in-law. The genealogy given below illustrates the story. From Mulijuok to the present day there are nine to ten generations. Other stories, which I do not recount here, explain the relations between the Kakan and the JoUyawa and other clans in Alego tribal territory. In these myths the tribal structure is presented in terms of lineages and the lineages are personified.



The JoAlego genealogy has been presented in its simplest form, pruned of all subsidiary branches. The JoOwila clan is shown in slightly fuller form to illustrate better the lineage structure of a typical Luo clan. The JoOwila are the dominant clan in Uyoma (pop. 11,694, density 91·3). Owila, the ancestor of the clan, came from Alego and brought with him the various clans now living in Uyoma together with the people who now occupy Asembo (where the dominant clan are the Kale) to which country the Uyoma people drove them after a quarrel. Though there are many stranger lineages living in Uyoma its population is probably less mixed than is the case in most tribal areas.

The JoOwila clan divides into four main branches or maximal lineages, as shown in the chart below, the JokOkelo or JokObong being the senior line. These four lineages do not intermarry. Each owns a distinct part of the tribal territory though the members of one lineage are frequently found living in the territory of another. The KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, having the same ancestress regard themselves as a single segment in relation to KoOkelo and KoOkwiri. Genealogical links through females with stranger lineages living with the clan are not shown on the chart.

The relativity of lineage values, to which I have given some attention in my book on the Nuer, may here be touched on, using the JoOwila

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In Seme (pop. 29,919, density 311·6) the dominant clan is the Ka-Nyikal, the main divisions of which are the Kadepir and the KaGumba, Gumba being a foundling adopted and brought up by Nyikal. I omit a genealogy of this clan for reasons of space but would draw passing attention to the common feature of lineage systems by which stranger lineages are grafted into the structure of the dominant clan of the tribe by mythological fictions. The KaGumba, to whom I have just alluded, is a very powerful lineage. Another strong lineage in Seme are the KaYila. According to the myth Yila was an Alego man who took to the bachelors' hut Amolo daughter of Nyikal and made her pregnant. He then fled the country. Amolo was an Amazon with a will of her own and she later went to fetch her lover and brought him back to Seme with his sons from whom are descended lineages, by a wife whom he had married in his exile. Another big clan in Seme are the Kolunje. Nyikal had a servant called Anam who used to take his sons to the edge of the lake to collect fodder for the calves. One day they found there a man called Onyango. Nyikal adopted this stranger together with Anam, and Kolunje is the joint name for their descendants, the KaAnam and the KoOnyango.

The last clan of the structure of which I shall give an outline are the KaRacuonyo. Jok, who appears to be the same as the Mulijuok of the Alego myth, begat two sons. One of them, Cuanya, is the ancestor of the principal lineages in the tribal areas of Kisumu, Kanyamwa, Kabwoc, Karungu, and Kadem. The other is the ancestor of the KaRacuonyo clan, who are dominant in the locations of Karacuonyo (Kaduong), Mumbo and Kabondo. According to the Alego myth there were two other brothers, Seje and Nyidenge, as has been noted, but these are not given in their genealogies by the people to the south of the gulf. According to some the ancestor of the now Bantuized Wanjare was another of Jok's sons.

The story current to the south of the gulf is that Jok was accidentally killed by his sons in an elephant hunt. A certain man called Cien took Racuonyo and made him his servant and after various adventures together adopted him as his son. When Cien died Racuonyo took one of his wives, Omiri, and by her begat Sepol, who is the ancestor of the dominant lineages in the Kabondo and Mumbo tribal divisions, the Joko-Owidi and the JokOmala. According to Luo custom Sepol was a son of the dead Cien and not of Racuonyo but the sons of Cien said they did not wish him to be known by the name of their father, so he was called after Racuonyo. The descendants of Cien by a different wife claim to be the owners of the Mumbo lands, but they are now a very small people, due it is said to their having insulted their father who haunted them after his death. The descendants of Racuonyo are shown in the chart below. Only the principal lineages are given, except in the line of descent to one man for illustration.

The man Rapemo can, according to the context, describe his lineage as KaMuma, JokOnyango, KaNdaya, KoOkoth, JokOwidi, KaSepol, and KaRacuonyo.

Each of the big lineages of the KaRacuonyo clan owns its own part of the tribal territory and within a section owned by a large lineage the

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

115 I must also express my indebtedness to Mr. Mayes, Collector of Nandi, for much information regarding that tribe, which is particularly uncommunicative on these matters.

114 I have no doubt that, as years go by, many of the matters dealt with herein may become much clearer, but I have thought it best to publish the material without further delay, as it may help to stimulate further research, and I also fear that as civilization develops, many of the strange customs and legends may become lost; in fact, there are already signs that the younger generation of natives are losing interest in the old order of things.

LEGENDS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE JA-LUO RACE.

773 Many savage tribes have legends or myths to account for their origin, and I
● 173 believe I am correct in stating that, in Africa, it is generally among those of Bantu
origin that such myths are fonnd. However, in the whole of the country in the
184 vicinity of the east side of the Nyanza, with which I am fairly well acquainted, with one exception, no trace of a definite legend has been discovered among the Bantu tribes (the exception being the Kadimu belief that their common ancestor was a huge python). Among the Ja-Luo, however, there is a very wide-spread belief in one Apōdtho, who was the Adam of the comparatively limited area of which these people have any cognizance.

I venture to give three versions of the same myth taken down from three chiefs living some forty miles apart. Each of these authorities also gave me a genealogical tree of considerable interest, inasmuch as they contain what may be a very probable solution of the origin of the names of the Ja-Luo tribes in Kavirondo. Of course there are discrepancies, but when one considers the way this story and the genealogical tables have been handed down verbally from generation to generation, one wonders that the three versions present so many features in common.

Version I from Ugada chief of Usakwa.

Apōdtho was the father of all the Kavirondo people. He descended from the heavens, and the day he reached the earth, the various kinds of animals also came down from above.

Apōdtho descended on Ramogi, or Lamogi, Hill, a long way north of Uganda, and he afterwards died at the same place. He descended with one woman, whose name is forgotten, and by her he had two sons and four daughters. These sons were named Ramogi and Anyango, and each married two of his sisters.

Ramogi migrated southward, and came and settled on a hill in Kadimu country (near the mouth of the river Nzoia); this hill is called after him to this day. His offspring founded the Ja-Luo race; most of the names of his sons being the names of the various tribes which were founded by them.

Anyango, the other son of Apōdtho, stayed in the country of his father and became the progenitor of the Baganda and Banyoro. On the day that Apōdtho

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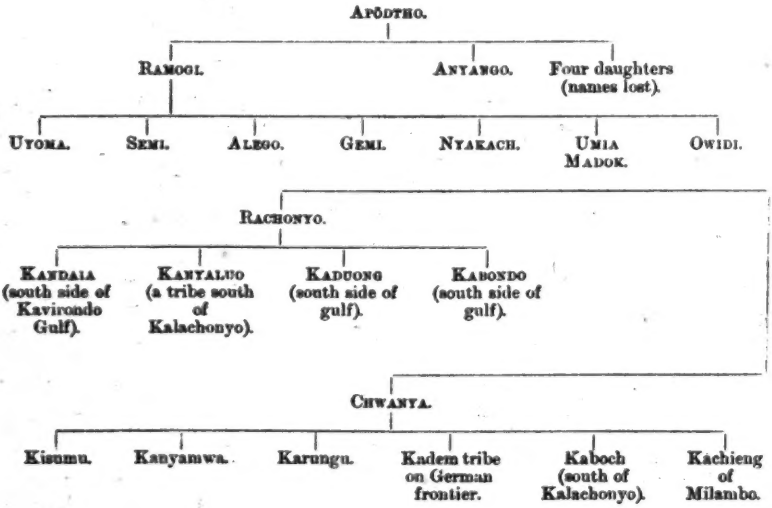
reached the earth, among the other animals that accompanied him were a bull, a cow, and a calf; he also brought *mtama* and other food-bearing seeds and plants, and there is especially mentioned besides, a tree called "Were," and out of the wood of the Were tree he made two wooden bowls. He then milked the cow into one of the wooden bowls, and, from ignorance he caught the cow's urine into the other bowl; this done, he poured the milk into a gourd and left the bowl of cow's urine in the sun, and then rested till the evening. At sundown he churned the milk that was in the gourd, collected the butter, and put it on one side; he then brought in the bowl of urine and mixed it with the buttermilk that remained in the gourd. Then, being hungry, he took the mixture and made some gruel with *mtama* meal, cooked and drank it; after drinking it, he passed urine for the first time since he had reached the earth, and this is the origin of the Ja-Luo custom of mixing milk with the cow's urine which prevails to this day.

GENEALOGY OF JA-LUO.

Version 1 *of Ugada Ndiek of Usakwa.*



Version II. Ugada chief of Korando.

Apödtho was the ancestor of all men; he descended to the earth from above, and brought with him two head of cattle, some fowls, and seeds of *mtama*, *sem-sem*, and *wimbi*. He found the tobacco plant growing on earth; the elephant gave him the sweet potato and beans. He also brought the knowledge of making fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together, and he taught the Ja-Luo to mix cow's urine with the milk.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

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He reached the earth in the country away to the north of the lake, and died in that country; at his death, he turned into a rock. Apōdtho had supernatural powers and possessed the power to turn into a rock at will. When he was old, the Ja-Luo conspired to kill him, but for a long time nothing came of it, because they were afraid of him; but one day sickness overcame him; the conspirators sent a girl to see if he was really sick, as they thought it would be a good opportunity to kill him. She took a small horn, used for cupping blood, in her hand, and, while talking to him, she placed the cupping horn on his shadow; to her surprise it drew blood from the shadow. She returned and told her friends that, if they wanted to kill Apōdtho, they must not touch his body, but spear his shadow; they did so, and he died and turned into a rock, which the Ja-Luo afterwards considered to possess special virtues for sharpening spears on.

Ramogi was the first member of the Ja-Luo race to come to Kavirondo, and he built in Kadimu country, near what is now the village of the chief Anam.

The Ja-Mwa (or Bantu Kavirondo) are descended from Anyango and came to Kavirondo before the Ja-Luo. They also came from the north, but belong to a different stock, the Baganda and Ba-Soga.

The Nandi came from the Ja-Lango. The Ja-Luo on the south side of Kavirondo Gulf originally lived on the north side, and crossed over by canoes.

The Koloa and various Ja-Luo clans on the Kitoto plain are the descendants of one Kanu, who is said to have come from Masai land, and to have married the sister of Rachonyo and settled down in the Kitoto plain; they are to this day often grouped together under the name Ja-Kanu.

Gemi, Lego, Sakwa, Kadimu, Ugenya, the founders of the tribes of the same name, were not sons of Ramogi, but were collaterally descended from Apōdtho.

Version III.

This version was obtained from Gori Kogalo, chief of Kanyamwa (Ja-Luo) on the south side of Kavirondo Gulf.

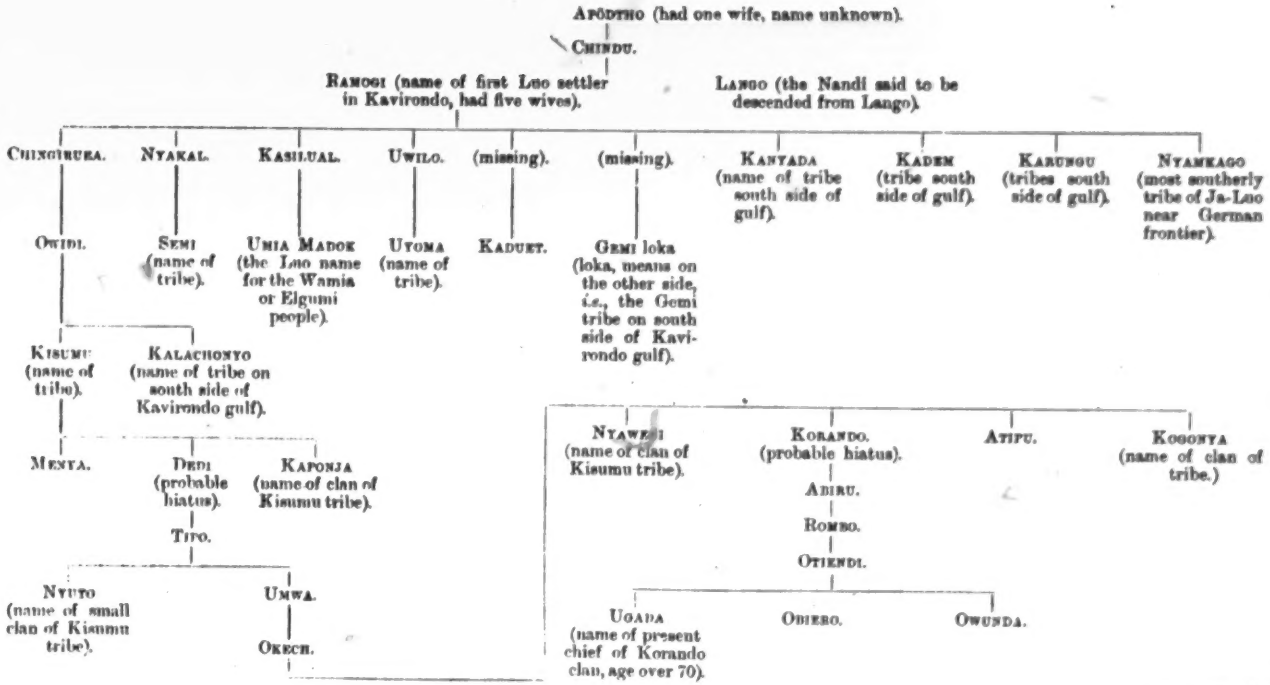
Apōdtho was the father of all mankind; and he, the sun, the wind, and the moon appeared on earth together; the father of the sun was dead. Apōdtho brought with him to the earth a spear, a shield, and fire. The buffalo and the cattle came out of the sea (probably meaning the Nyanza), and were herded by mankind, but the buffalo broke away, and took to the woods, refusing to become tame as the cattle did; he also brought *mtama* grain, the *wimbi* he found growing on earth in the grass; he found tobacco and the sweet potato growing in elephant dung.

Shortly after their arrival, Apōdtho ordered the moon to kill an ox, but the moon refused; he then told the sun, and then the wind, they also refused, so he killed the ox himself with a blow from his fist, and then ate the meat, offering some to the sun, moon, and wind, but they all refused to eat, and he was very angry, so they fled back to the heavens and have stayed there ever since. Apōdtho told his

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

Genealogy of the Ja-Luo.

Version 2 of Ugada Koranda.


Apodtho (had one wife, name unknown).
Chindu.
Ramogi (name of first Luo settler in Kavirondo, had five wives).
Lango (the Nandi said to be descended from Lango).
Chingirura.
Nyakal.
Kasilual.
Uwilo.
(missing).
(missing).
Kanyada (name of tribe south side of gulf).
Kaden (tribe south side of gulf).
Karungu (tribes south side of gulf).
Nyamkago (most southerly tribe of Ja-Luo near German frontier).
Owidi.
Semi (name of tribe).
Umia Madok (the Luo name for the Wamia or Elgumi people).
Uyoma (name of tribe).
Kaduet.
Gemi loka (loka, means on the other side, i.e., the Gemi tribe on south side of Kavirondo gulf).
Kisumu (name of tribe).
Kalachonyo (name of tribe on south side of Kavirondo gulf).
Menya.
Debi (probable hiatus).
Kaponja (name of clan of Kisumu tribe).
Tipo.
Nyuto (name of small clan of Kisumu tribe).
Umwa.
Okech.
Nyawesi (name of clan of Kisumu tribe).
Korando. (probable hiatus).
Atipu.
Kogonya (name of clan of tribe.)
Abiru.
Rombo.
Otiendi.
Ugada (name of present chief of Korando clan, age over 70).
Obiero.
Owunda.

in Kavirondo and Nandi.

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GENEALOGY OF THE JA-LUO.

Version 3 of Gori Kogalo.

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children that he had left a beautiful country in the heavens where the people were all bright like fire, and that when they were dead, they would all go and meet these people. 773 173

Ramogi, the great grandson of Apödtho, taught the Ja-Luo the custom of mixing cow's urine with the milk. 184

Mbunga, the eldest son of Ramogi, was the first member of the Ja-Luo to migrate southward into Kavirondo, and his brothers followed him; upon their arrival, they found the Bantu Kavirondo in possession of the land, but gradually drove them back.

The Bantu Kavirondo are descended from one Mugirango.

The Masai are descended from a Ja-Luo youth who, when out one day herding cattle, absconded into the woods, driving off the cattle; a woman who was lazy, and would not cultivate, crept away and joined him, and they became the progenitors of the Masai; they live by eating herbs and drinking milk to this day.

The Nandi and Lumbwa are descended from Alangu, a son of Ramogi.

Rajoki, a son of Apödtho, is the ancestor of all the other people on earth, Europeans, etc.

This account was given me by an old chief, living away in the hills to the south of Kavirondo Gulf, a man who has probably not seen half a dozen Europeans in the whole of his life. He told me that, in his youth, the old chiefs had many more legends, but the young men of to-day took but little interest in such things, and they were all rapidly being forgotten. He confided to me that his neighbours imputed to him the power of being able to transform himself at will into the shape of an ox and other animals, but he gravely assured me that these slanders were quite unfounded, and were a source of great embarrassment to him. 773 173 115 [773]

The version of the legend, given above, differs considerably from those previously recounted, and many new names appear. Most of the new names, however, are the names of tribes living in South Kavirondo, or Ugaya as it is often called, *e.g.*, Nyamkago, Kalachonyo, Kabondo, Kaboch, Kadem, Uchieng. As these were near neighbours of his ancestors, their names would be more likely to be remembered. 773 173 184

There is, I think, enough internal evidence to show that this is really a very ancient genealogy, brought down from the Nile valley by the people when they migrated to the south. 173

An examination of the three versions of the genealogy of the Ja-Luo just given will lay bare many discrepancies, the presence of which, to my mind, gives an air of great genuineness to the information, and is, in a way, proof of the age of the myth.

Like the genealogy of the Uganda kings given in Mr. Roscoe's paper,[1] and, for the matter of that, like many other genealogies of world-wide fame in the ancient history of more civilized countries, we have in the Ja-Luo genealogy a succession of mythical personages and demigods at one end of the line, and at the other end,

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xxxii, p. 25, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," Plates I and II.

5: Hobley. G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
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working back for a certain distance of time, a genealogy of the heads of the family tribe or *gens*, which is linked, quite in good faith, on to the mythical beginnings of the tree. Where the transition from family or tribal history to myth occurs in the present example, it is impossible to state accurately, but after listening carefully to the narrative, I venture to point out where I consider a hiatus occurs.

In the Uganda genealogy, it will be remembered that the common ancestor of the Baganda was one Kinta; it is rather remarkable that, in one of the present examples, the name of the son of Apóltho is given as Chinda, especially as, in African languages, a prefixial K– often becomes changed to Ch–.

If, however, the genealogies now given possess no other interest, they at least afford, it is considered, fairly good evidence as to the way in which the various Nilotic tribes and sub-tribes or clans in Kavirondo derived their names; for there is no doubt that in olden times the chiefs were far more powerful than now, and a vigorous chief with a large number of wives could have descendants enough to form the beginning of quite a considerable clan.

I have no doubt that in the more outlying parts there is an untold wealth of legend and myth of anthropological interest awaiting record, and when the Acholi (Shuli) and Lur countries become more opened up, stories of the causes which led to the great Ja-Luo migration southwards will probably be unearthed, and it may even be that the rock, into which Apóltho is said to have become metamorphosed at his death, will be found to be looked upon as a kind of fetish stone to this day.

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I do not consider that we shall get much further with regard to unravelling the mystery of the various great migrations by research anywhere south of Mount Elgon. As an instance of this: for a long time past, I have, at intervals, made endeavours to find out from the Nandi people, some trace of a legend about their arrival in the country, without success; but a few months ago, when travelling in the vicinity of Elgon, I was talking to some members of the Lako tribe (a branch of the Nandi group who live on the mountain), and I was very much interested to find that they had a legend, relative to their migration, to the effect that they had originally lived on a mountain called Kamalinga, some forty-five miles to the north-west of Elgon, and that the Nandi lived on the east side of that mountain, and the Lako on the west, and from there they migrated south-east, the Lako and their close relatives the Sawai people settling on Elgon, and the Nandi pushing onward through to the Guasangishu plateau. Of course they really came from much further north, but this seems to be a link in the chain, and probably if the Kamalinga region were visited, further evidence would be obtained.

The Lako too had a curious legend to the effect that, in past times, a stream of fire ran down the mountain (Elgon) and burnt up the forests it encountered on its way, which looks as if the mountain had been active in historic times, for the natives could not possibly know that Elgon is an extinct volcano.

16: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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constant activity in the field and home. The freedom with which the young women mingle with the men is striking, they may be seen among them, leaning on their shoulders when standing, as unrestrainedly as the men with men. The absence of clothing in no wise embarrasses them nor does it cause either sex a moment's thought; they are accustomed to this state of nature from childhood and feel no constraint in mingling freely together. They are extremely fond of ornaments and of painting themselves with different coloured clays, and often make patterns upon their bodies which they retain until the clay wears off. Their hair is often allowed to grow long, and youths frequently increase the length of it by twisting cords into it, greasing the whole with castor or other vegetable oil and rubbing red clay into it. Men and women mix freely together and often work in parties on the same field, singing songs as they work and keeping time with their hoes as they dig. Their homes in the hills are exposed and cold. Still, they do not appear to feel the cold winds and move about and work as freely as well-clothed tribes. As a tribe they combine agriculture with pastoral pursuits and their diet consists of milk and vegetables.

Origin of the tribe. According to their traditions they come from the north-west. Their ancestor Ramogi, they say, had seven sons named Kwenda, Nyakal, Owede, Nyadwat, Sakwa, Alego and Langho; and he adopted another son, Ugenya. Langho, they say, is the father of the Masai and Setik tribes. They trace their own descent from Owede who had two sons, Omwa and Sagam. We thus have two groups forming the tribe, as follows: Omwa, whose descendants formed eight clans; Sagam, whose descendants form seven.

The descendants of Omwa:

1. Dongo	2. Nyuto	3. Orando
4. Kwamudi	5. Nyamwegi	6. Ndalo
7. Ogonyo	8. Nyakwal	

The descendants of Sagam:

1. Pwonja	2. Hadedi	3. Waraaja
4. Rateng	5. Wango	6. Menya
7. Nyameda		